

not discriminate between the respective political situations toward Great Britain of an island separated from it by only a narrow strip of sea, and of half a continent in another hemisphere, three thousand miles distant. Ireland is the smaller two disparate islands, cut off from the continent of Europe and evidently destined together to form one State, when in the progress of civilisation a nation grew out of the several races inhabiting the two islands; while Canada as the undivided half of a continent is as manifestly destined, when the era of colonisation is ended, to have much closer relations with her contiguous neighbour than with the Mother Country, belonging to a distant and totally independent political system. There is no reason why friendly Canada, even if independent, should not be always in alliance with Great Britain; but contrariwise it may be expected that hostile Ireland, if granted self-government—or rather, what self-government means in this case, if surrendered to the control of the enemies not only of England but of civilization itself—will be always hostile, because such a government would isolate her, and substitute the narrowing influences of local ignorance for the educative influences afforded by her present connexion with a civilised State.

BUT to return to this Parliament, that is to be “under the same sovereign who rules over Great Britain,” and “subject to the supremacy of the Parliament at Westminster.” This is certainly not the sort of legislature Mr Gladstone’s scheme proposes for Ireland; nor is it what Ireland wants, save in the imagination of Canadian journalists. For the fundamental principle of that scheme is the withdrawal of Ireland from the supremacy of the Imperial Parliament, and this is done in surrender to Mr. Parnell, who has declared in set terms: “We will never accept anything but the full and complete right to manage our own affairs and to make our own laws and to secure for Ireland, free from outside control, the right to direct her own course among the peoples of the earth,” and in reference to this supremacy we cannot do better than reproduce an observation added as a postscript to Mr. Goldwin Smith’s letter printed elsewhere in this issue:—

Am I mistaken, writes Mr. Smith, in thinking that the framer of the Home Rule Bill has inadvertently extinguished the sovereign power? The sovereign power before the Union was in the British and Irish Parliaments, severally, with the Crown. Since the Union it has been in the Parliament of the United Kingdom. But when the bill becomes law the Parliament of the United Kingdom is no more. Its existence is morally, if not technically, determined by the withdrawal of Ireland. The Parliament of Ireland, even with the Crown, is not sovereign; its existence is merely derivative and restricted. The question is of practical importance with reference to any future dealings with the Irish Constitution, or with the arrangements generally between the two countries. The Irish Constitution can hardly be supposed by its constructors to be written on adamant; it has obvious reference to the exigencies of a special situation and the necessity of curbing the propensities of what it is, frankly assumed, will be a Parliament of thieves. It seems incredible that a statesman of vast experience should not have carried his political studies far enough to know that in framing or reorganising constitutions we have always to consider the seat of the sovereign power.

The seat of the sovereign power unquestionably lies in the Imperial Parliament. Universally, it is still vested in the Crown, and no doubt the Crown still possesses some share of real power; but the larger share has passed over into the hands of Parliament and for all practical purposes not the Queen, but Parliament rules the Empire. But if we have two Parliaments will not the reverse process take place? Is it not certain that as one branch of Government is weakened the other will be strengthened? This, in fact, is one of the things Mr. Gladstone is doing. In extinguishing the authority of the Imperial Parliament over Ireland he transfers to the Crown, not merely that specific portion of the authority abstracted, but all the authority a Sovereign Power loses when reduced from the first and paramount place to one of two second subordinate places in the State.

THE opinion of an observant tourist, who is also an eminent economist, is peculiarly worthy of consideration in dealing with political questions; and as such the observations of M. E. de Laveleye in his new work, *La Péninsule des Balkans*, on a country to which the eyes of all Western nations are just now anxiously though intermittently turned are extremely valuable. As a result of a recent tour in the Balkans, undertaken from a desire to see for himself how far the old order of things existent in 1867, when he first visited the Peninsula, had given way to a new state, and as a result of his studies in many districts rarely visited by tourists, he has come to attach great importance to the question of nationalities, in which he recognises “the factor which will decide the future of the populations of the Danube and the Balkan Peninsula;” and he believes that in order to avoid future complications in that quarter, Europe must take into consideration the wishes of its various peoples, due to ethnological sympathies

as well as to economical and geographical circumstances or historical recollections. Treating of Bosnia, he speaks in terms of high praise of the manliness and honesty of the Mussulman descendants of the old Slav land-owners who gave up their faith and retained their estates when the Cross gave way to the Crescent; but who, “formerly the masters and at present still the proprietors of the land, will slowly but inevitably descend in the social scale, and will end by being eliminated.” In another passage, M. de Laveleye says, what is of special interest for us just now, “The agrarian condition of Bosnia had a great resemblance to that of Ireland. They who cultivated the soil had to deliver all the net produce to proprietors, of a different religion; but while the English landlord was restrained in his exactions by a certain sentiment of Christian charity, by the honour of a gentleman, and by public opinion, the Mussulman landlord was inspired by his religion to see in the tenant a dog, an enemy who might be killed and of course despoiled without mercy. The more conscientious and religious the English proprietor the more he spares his tenants; the more the Mussulman is inspired by the Koran the more un pitying does he become.”

THE aspirations of the populations speaking the Croato-Servian tongue point to the re-uniting some day of Croatia, Slavonia, Dalmatia, Herzegovina, Montenegro, and Servia into a powerful State, which would then constitute a fair balance to Hungary in the Austrian Empire. But to this the Hungarians cannot reconcile themselves. They fear the growth of a strong State to the eastward of Austria-Hungary, which may easily fall under the dominion of the House of Austria, through natural causes, through the partition of the Balkan Peninsula between Russia and Austria, or as compensation for the probable loss of its German provinces. The growth of the dominions of the House of Austria eastward in this way might be fatal to the influence of Hungary in the Empire, and therefore the Hungarians try by every means to hamper the development of the Croatian national spirit; and forgetful of their own struggles for national freedom, they are led into vexatious acts which produce irritation without any compensating advantage. The dream of a Servo-Croatian commonwealth, uniting all the populations speaking one tongue, is likely to be an idea only until Austria be dismembered, or unless the new State come under Austrian supremacy. And this latter cannot happen till also Russia’s claims in the Peninsula are satisfied. This can only be, as it would seem now, by the conquest or military occupation of Bulgaria; for, as regards Russian diplomacy there, M. de Laveleye, in a chapter written since the outbreak of hostilities with Servia, utterly condemns the policy of Russia. In his opinion, “what is certain is that the attitude of the Tsar has been supremely unintelligent, and that the Russian agents at Sofia play a part equally sinister and awkward. They want everything to move exactly as they wish, and when they are opposed by the feeling of national dignity, they strive to throw everything into confusion, to turn out the Ministry, to checkmate the Prince, and to prove that they are indispensable. The sole result at which they will arrive will be that they will make the Bulgarians forget all the services which Russia has rendered to them, and obliterate all feeling of gratitude.”

THE emergence of Bulgaria from among the peoples of the Balkan peninsula is a new and most important factor in the Eastern Question. Previous to last winter, Greece was generally looked upon as the only likely heir to the European dominions of the Sultan. So astute and masterful minded are the Greeks that it has been said that if you should shut up nineteen members of the other nationalities with one Greek, that Greek would be soon found to be leading them all and directing their actions whithersoever he pleased. But now in consequence of the recent splendid conduct of the Bulgarians in the field and the Cabinet, these have to a large extent taken the places of the Greeks in the regard of those European Powers who desire to see the Eastern Question settled, not by the absorption, but by the development of the nationalities of the Balkans; and Greece is accordingly, and very naturally, angered at this change in her prospects. When Servia took up arms in resentment against the absorption of Roumelia by Bulgaria, Greece, fully expecting that Bulgaria would be crushed, took up arms also, calculating that in alliance with Servia, the two could impose any terms they pleased on Turkey. But when the reverse event took place, and victorious Bulgaria struck Servia back to its own territory, Greece was left with the sword drawn—at a ruinous expense—afraid to strike at the reversionary heir to Constantinople which to her rage had suddenly become revealed in Bulgaria; and, though perhaps secretly encouraged by Russia, prevented by the other powers from plunging all Europe into war by attacking Turkey. Hence the difficulty of quieting Greece now. Her people are roused to fury by